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The JOURNAL of EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

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EDITORIAL

For several years, THE JOURNAL has maintained two types of organization of manuscript material. Approximately two thirds of the issues are "special numbers" which provide the opportunity for a fairly comprehensive analysis of a single field of study in educational sociology. The remaining issues are "general numbers," thus making it possible to include articles dealing with a wide variety of fields.

Although the first four articles are written from widely differing points of view, there is a consistent thought that runs through each of them: the need of more realistically facing the problems of childhood and youth through the coördinated efforts of all of the agencies of the community.

Ten years of depression have levied their toll upon American youth. It is not alone the lack of a job or the loss of responsibility in the home. More serious are the inevitable concomitants—the sense of futility, the fatalistic acceptance of conditions as they are, and the resultant lethargy of many, though by no means all, youth. The all too frequent failure of the school to provide the challenge of achievement results, partly at least, from the inability of the teacher adequately to appraise the attitudes and behavior of the individual child. This does not imply that the school should be any the less realistic, but the child who has acquired the sense of achieve-

ment through his own efforts in a classroom which provides a genuine challenge to him will have acquired the first requisite for realistically facing the uncertainties of his postschool life. Recently, a college senior of more than average ability made the statement: "I'm afraid to graduate. While I am in school, no one expects me to do more than successfully complete my courses, but when I graduate I will be expected to do something and I'm afraid that I shall fail." When such a statement is made—and it haunts the minds of many—there is something wrong. Of course it can be ascribed to the present unemployment problem, for, as the American Youth Commission reported in its recent broadcast, it is, on the average, twenty-three months between the time of leaving school and the procuring of the first full-time job. This is a too easy explanation. There is something wrong with an educational system that has failed to give to our young people the functional knowledge and skills essential for vocational adjustment, self-confidence based upon the successful completion of tasks adapted to their ability, and the desire to face life with courage and with determination.

FRANCIS J. BROWN

EVALUATING THE ADJUSTMENT OF SCHOOL CHILDREN

VICTOR H. EVJEN

*United States Probation System
Northern District of Illinois*

Today there exist any number of divergent social philosophies underlying delinquency and crime-prevention programs. These differences in points of view have hindered the coöperative thinking, planning, and functioning of our community institutions and agencies. Many of our churches, schools, courts, child-guidance clinics, family-welfare agencies, and recreational organizations—even though they share a like philosophy—are attempting to perform a completely independent service in a community. More than ever before we are realizing the need for coördinating the efforts of these community institutions and agencies, particularly because they all have a common goal of fitting individuals to make a constructive contribution to society.

Delinquency and crime are not only deeply rooted in the emotional life of an individual, but also in the social, economic, and cultural life of a community. Consequently, the success of any preventive and correctional program depends largely upon the extent to which these social forces of a community dovetail their efforts to combat those conditions that invite maladjustment. Not one of these community institutions or organizations is sufficient unto itself. Not one is capable of functioning without influencing or being influenced by the other. Each must respect the efforts of the others and have a full appreciation of their designated administrative and therapeutic responsibilities, the handicaps under which they are obliged to function, and their respective contributions to the experiential life of the child.

THE SCHOOL AND THE COURT

A fundamental need in coördinating the efforts of a community is to bridge the gap between the school and the court. In part, the inadequate relationships which exist are due to any one or more of the following: (1) heavy case and teaching loads of both court workers and teachers; (2) long and burdensome teaching hours; (3) differing points of view resulting from differences in formal training and background; (4) failure to share an appreciation of their respective techniques, responsibilities, and administrative problems; (5) lack of adequate case records on the part of both schools and courts—particularly the schools; (6) lack of understanding and insight into those social and moral experiences and relationships which make for emotional stability or disorganization; and (7) emotional immaturity and instability on the part of both court workers and teachers.

The heavy case loads and the long hours of both court workers and teachers, and the confining nature of teaching itself, have made it practically impossible for the teacher and the court worker to get together to confer and to discuss the needs of a child in whom they may have a mutual interest. In most courts the relationship with schools is a perfunctory one and consists largely in having the teacher or the principal fill out a school report which asks for the *grades* of a child in "scholarship," "deportment," and "attendance." In some instances the teacher may be asked to check the presence of any one or more behavior difficulties¹ such as stealing, truancy, lying, general incorrigibility, sex, retardation, and teasing. Seldom do the school authorities make any reference to actual case situations or forms of behavior which might offer some insight into the deeper levels of conflict and into the treatment needed to effect an adjustment.

Authorities in the field of delinquency know that school dissatis-

¹ Selected from a list of ten behavior difficulties found in the school report of the Juvenile Court of Cook County.

factions frequently initiate and also aggravate conduct disorders. What institution or organization should be better equipped than the school to understand and treat the mental and emotional life of the child? Who is better able to observe the child in his adjustment to the social life of the school than the teacher? Unfortunately, however, the mass education of our schools makes it practically impossible to offer individual treatment of conduct problems. Few schools maintain a social case record of the mental, social, and emotional progress of a child. On numerous occasions the writer has requested information on children no longer in attendance at the school. Invariably the extent of the information is a grade on each of the subjects, the record of attendance, and a one-word generalization of deportment. In so many instances the school records contain absolutely no information concerning the character and personality of the child.

TEACHERS VERSUS MENTAL HYGIENISTS

Frequently the question is raised as to whether or not teachers are capable of distinguishing between important and unimportant kinds of behavior. Professor E. K. Wickman's study of *Children's Behavior and Teachers' Attitudes*² indicates that teachers are prone to "stress the importance of problems relating to sex, dishonesty, disobedience, disorderliness, and failure to learn," and favor the less active and more compliant child. The teacher is opposed to any conduct which transgresses her authority and violates good classroom procedure. To her the problem child is the child who displays antagonism toward her authority.

On the other hand, the psychiatrist discounts the emphasis placed upon the noncompliant type of behavior. To him the problem child is the shy, retiring, self-seclusive child; the child who pities himself; who feels that he is inferior, misunderstood, and picked upon; who

² Worcester, Mass.: The Commonwealth Press, 1928.

acts suspicious and is unhappy and depressed. These unhealthy tendencies are symptomatic of maladjustment.

A similar study of "probation officers' attitudes and the child's behavior" might show results which correspond to those of Professor Wickman's findings. Unfortunately, a great many probation officers do react to behavior problems according to the nature and extent to which their judicial authority and moral standards are transgressed, and to the degree to which their immediate probation efforts are frustrated.

Teachers and probation officers alike should be intimately acquainted with those conditions and experiences which make for normal child behavior and an adequate emotional adjustment. Teachers and probation officers are in need of instruction in techniques of discovering and observing those underlying emotional and experiential factors that produce maladjustment and also in dealing with these maladjustments on the basis of the treatment indicated.

Last, but by no means least important, is the social adjustment of the teachers and probation officers themselves. Too frequently we find teachers and court workers who have not arrived at a satisfactory emotional maturity themselves, and consequently are not in a position to deal with the child's problems in a completely objective and unbiased manner. In such situations any attempt to rehabilitate may aggravate rather than alleviate those conditions which cause dissatisfactions.

NEED FOR AN INSTRUMENT FOR DIAGNOSIS AND APPRAISAL

While on the staff of the Chicago Juvenile Court, the writer experienced a very urgent need for an instrument of contact which would enable both the court and the school to determine, with a fair degree of reliability and without too great an effort, the apparent adjustment the child was making in his school relationships. There existed a need for an instrument which would also assist the school

and the court in determining what treatment is essential on the basis of the needs which are manifest. It was thought that such an instrument or instruments might serve the purposes of discovering some of the individual needs and showing what changes, developments, or improvements occur during any given period of education and rehabilitation. On the basis of these needs the writer sought to develop an instrument which might serve both the functions of diagnosis of needs and the appraisal of progress.

THE RATING SCALE

In recent years considerable emphasis has been placed upon the measurement of attitudes and social conditions. Among the instruments of measurement is the *rating scale*. An interesting, early adaptation of rating scales is that used with rather encouraging results by Professors G. B. Watson, H. S. Dimock,³ and C. E. Hendry in the measurement of behavior in actual life situations. Their behavior frequency scales were found to be helpful in the diagnosis of behavior problems as well as in the appraisal of the results of an educational process. The writer was of the opinion that this type of instrument would help to satisfy some of the shortcomings which make for the inadequate relationship between the school and the court as well as other social-work agencies. Following the basic form of the behavior frequency scale an attempt was made to develop a rating scale which would be applicable to school situations.

In the first drafting of the behavior rating scale,⁴ thirty-six forms of behavior—both socially healthy and unhealthy tendencies—were assembled. These forms of behavior were selected on the basis of their interest to the psychiatrist who would interpret the various types and degrees of response as symptomatic either of maladjustment or good mental health. An effort was made to avoid abstract

³H. S. Dimock and C. E. Hendry, *Camping and Character* (New York: Association Press, 1929), 364 pages.

⁴See the instrument in its revised form, p. 333.

and ambiguous traits and to use in their stead reasonably exact and understandable definitions of various forms of behavior. For example, is the child inclined to daydream and substitute daydreaming for actual accomplishments? Does he display a sense of inadequacy as evidenced by withdrawing and self-seclusive tendencies? Is he constantly on the defensive, making excuses for himself and deliberately hurting the feelings of his classmates because he is afraid they will hurt him? Does he demonstrate a sense of inferiority by showing off, trying to force his opinion, and constantly struggling for attention? These reactions or forms of behavior indicate definite insecurity and may well develop into serious mental disturbances and social maladjustment.

In the "frequency of observation" columns the rater is given an opportunity to rate the approximate frequency with which these forms of behavior occur. In the original drafting, frequency columns of "never," "seldom," "occasionally," "very often," and "always" were used. No attempt was made to arrange these responses on the basis of "good" or "bad," or to classify them according to such categories as personal peculiarities, social adaptability, habits of work, emotional make-up, reaction to conventional standards, etc. The same introductory statement as that on the finally accepted form was used on the original draft. The rating scale was mimeographed on the reverse side of the regular school report⁸ then in use, and was ready for a sampling.

SAMPLING THE INSTRUMENT

Ten public schools of Chicago volunteered to try the behavior rating form in rating the responses of those boys known to the Juvenile Court. These schools included four departmental and five non-departmental elementary schools, and one high school. Forty-one instruments were used in the sampling. The reactions of the princi-

⁸ Throughout this paper the *school report* is not to be confused with the *instrument* (rating scale).

pals to the rating scale were, with a few exceptions, extremely favorable.

The general response of the principals also indicated that the rating scale would be helpful in pointing out to the problem boy what actually constitutes a healthy social and emotional adjustment. Periodic ratings would enable the school and the court to show the boy what progress or retrogression has been made; in what areas he can improve his adjustment; and where further treatment is essential. Several of the principals stated definitely that the rating form would require some thought on the part of the rater. It was their experience that the checking of blanket terms in the school report did not challenge a teacher to think carefully about the actual adjustment of a child. Too frequently the school reports are unreliable and unfair because of this very fact, and consequently do not afford a reasonably accurate interpretation of the child's problems and needs.

Of the many criticisms and suggestions which were presented by both principals and teachers and were given proper consideration in the preparation of the revised form, the most important dealt with the arrangement of the items. It was the consensus of the group that the forms should be classified, rather than scrambled, into two categories, the favorable and unfavorable. The principals realized that any classification of the behavior forms might reflect somewhat on the reliability and objectivity of the rating. However, they regarded it as more important that they could readily refer to a block of behavior forms which would give a more easily observed *profile* reading. If the profile of ratings of a group of desired forms of behavior tended toward the "always" column, a favorable adjustment might be implied. This arrangement would afford a considerable saving of time if the school authorities, court workers, and the child could readily see whether the reactions were tending toward the desired or undesired side.*

* If it is desired that the forms of behavior be unclassified, a stencil can be prepared to block out the favorable while showing the unfavorable responses, and vice versa.

USE OF THE INSTRUMENT IN DEPARTMENTAL SCHOOLS

In the sampling of the instrument it was readily observed that the use of the behavior rating scale in the departmental school would necessitate a rating of the child by two or more of his teachers. It would be unsound to generalize an adjustment on the basis of a single teacher's rating of the child's response to one classroom situation. Conduct shifts and changes from one specific classroom situation to another. This was clearly disclosed in the case of Ted Vance,⁷ whose school adjustment was interpreted for the court by his home-room teacher who saw him at only short intervals during the day. She reported that Ted was making a very inadequate school adjustment. At his request Ted was permitted by the court to bring in statements from each of his five teachers. These statements revealed that Ted was making a very satisfactory adjustment in his social relationships and in his various subjects. In this particular case it appeared that Ted responded favorably to five of his six teachers.

To meet the situation of the departmental school the principals offered the following suggestions: (1) prepare a composite estimate of all the teachers concerned who would meet together with the principal and pool and record their observations on a single rating form; (2) the principal will select the two teachers whom he regards as most apt to give an accurate and unbiased statement of the child's attitude and conduct; and (3) all of the teachers will rate the child individually on separate rating forms. It was also suggested that the principal should be permitted to check with the teacher any glaring inconsistencies which may result from bias, a mere guess, or a hastened recording. Each of the three methods of rating above was tried and their respective findings were evaluated.

TEACHERS' ATTITUDES AND CHILDREN'S BEHAVIOR

In a number of cases it was observed that the teacher, in giving her total evaluation of the child on the school report, regarded the

⁷ Victor H. Evjen, "Do Schools Spread Delinquency," *Character Magazine* (June 1937), p. 7.

child as well adjusted even though definitely distressing and unhealthy forms of behavior were recorded on the behavior rating scale. Several of the returns would convey the impression that teachers actually do *not* know what constitutes normal child behavior. The case of Norbert is an interesting one. On the school report the teacher graded him *average* in behavior. The accompanying rating form, however, showed that Norbert was a definite behavior problem and apparently poorly adjusted in his emotional and social life. More than half of the ratings on the thirty-six forms of behavior were interpreted as unhealthy tendencies. The teacher's rating on the original instrument included the following:

- Seldom shows consideration of classmates
- Never makes a friendly approach to the boys
- Always retiring by self instead of mixing
- Occasional cheating and lying
- Never shows enthusiasm in group activity
- Very often shows laziness and indifference
- Very often evidences inferiority feeling
- Occasional rudeness and impudence
- Very often shows lack of ambition and interest
- Very often depressed and melancholy
- Seldom diligent in studies
- Very often stubborn and argumentative
- Very often feelings easily hurt
- Very often restless and fidgety

Without the findings of the rating scale the court workers would be led to believe that Norbert was making an *average* adjustment.

The rating on Henry offers further enlightenment. On the school report Henry was given *excellent* in behavior for a period of several months prior to and at the time the rating scale was used. The instrument disclosed the following:

- Seldom shows enthusiasm in group activity
- Always evidences inferiority feeling
- Always shows lack of ambition and interest

Seldom diligent in studies
 Very often retiring instead of mixing

This case is typical of the child who is not regarded as a problem by the teacher because he does not encroach upon her authority. To the psychiatrist, his shy and withdrawing tendencies give definite indication of mental ill-health and need for counsel.

Frank was given *good* in behavior. On the school report not a single behavior difficulty was checked. No comments were entered in the space for remarks. All that the court knew from the school report was that he was frequently absent, good in deportment and scholarship, and in the 6A grade! The findings of the rating scale presented quite a different picture:

Very often cheating, lying, and deceiving
 Very often associates with questionable boys
 Occasional laziness and indifference
 Always bluffing and trying to get by
 Very often bullying, razzing, and teasing
 Very often takes things not belonging to him
 Very often absent without excuse

In the final analysis it must be remembered that even though a teacher may be biased or objective in her ratings, her reactions to the child must be appreciated on the basis of their bearing on the child's adjustment in the classroom and the school.

THE REVISED RATING FORM

The recommendations offered by the principals and the teachers, and the merits and shortcomings of the instrument as disclosed in the results of the sampling, were given careful consideration in the preparation of the revised rating scale (*see* page 333). Thirty-three forms of behavior were finally selected. Some of the forms of behavior may have to be more specifically defined in order that they may be more clearly observed and measured. Some very important behavior manifestations may have been unintentionally omitted.

To the Principal of the School: 19.....

Re:..... Address..... Grade.....

RATING OF BEHAVIOR

In the following, check your personal observations of this child's behavior. *Do not rate any form of behavior of which you have no knowledge.* In fairness to the child, free yourself of any bias. Do not allow your total feeling toward the child prevent you from judging each form of behavior separately and fairly. Try not to let a desire to justify your work, or your point of view, influence your ratings.

FORM OF BEHAVIOR	FREQUENCY OF OBSERVATIONS			
	Never	Occa- sionally	Very Often	Always
1. Disturbing in classrooms, halls, etc.				
2. Uses profanity or suggestive talk				
3. Cheats noticeably in studies . . . tries to bluff				
4. Domineers, bullies, and teases classmates				
5. Associates with known delinquent groups				
6. Shows lack of interest in studies . . . fails to apply self				
7. Openly disobedient . . . impudent . . . discourteous . . . rude				
8. Involved in petty thefts of articles in school				
9. Evidences abnormal sex interests and sex behavior				
10. Permits imposition by others . . . unusually submissive				
11. Obstinately argumentative . . . quarrels over trifles				
12. Tidy in appearance . . . orderly in habits				
13. Shows enthusiasm in group activity				
14. Displays self-control in annoying situations				
15. Responds favorably to correction and discipline				
16. Carries enterprises through with despatch				
17. Displays respect for teachers				
18. Dependable . . . trustworthy . . . truthful . . . honest				
19. Desirable influence among classmates				
20. Shows care in the use of school property				
21. Makes adequate use of study periods				
22. Has reasonable excuse for tardiness or absence				
23. Finds excuse to avoid disliked situations				
24. Evidences inferiority . . . displays lack of confidence				
25. Easily depressed . . . discouraged . . . unhappy . . . worrisome				
26. Poor mixer . . . self-seclusive . . . avoids classmates				
27. Boastful . . . seeks limelight . . . demanding of attention				
28. Oversensitive . . . feelings easily hurt . . . self-pitying				
29. Displays temper and irritability . . . fidgety . . . restless				
30. Daydreams . . . inability to concentrate on work				
31. Seeks (1) younger (2) older companions				
32. Dull . . . retarded . . . slow to comprehend				
33. Fails to respond to praise and encouragement				

Name of Rater..... Title.....

Date of Rating..... Rater has known child since.....

Further study may show that some of the forms of behavior are of little significance and should be eliminated.

The instrument in its present form carried out the suggestion that the forms of behavior be placed into categories of *desirable* and *undesirable* behavior responses. In the instrument the first eleven forms of behavior are negative; the next eleven are positive; and the final eleven are negative. This arrangement possibly may result in a lesser degree of reliability, particularly if the rater is a person who has prejudices or emotional attachments for a child. Extended experiment in varying school situations will determine the worth of the instrument, and what further changes are indicated.

CONCLUSIONS

The conclusions of this study may be summarized as follows:

1. The instrument serves as a means of locating behavior disorders, determining the frequency with which they occur and the combinations they assume, and defining the therapeutic and remedial treatment which is indicated.
2. The instrument aids in determining what changes, development, and improvements have been made in the adjustment of the child.
3. The instrument serves as a readily accessible and permanent record of a diagnosis of needs and an appraisal of results. Schools are embarrassingly in need of case records. Too frequently schools are without any record whatsoever of the mental, emotional, and social life of an individual during his formative and impressionable years. This is particularly true of individuals who have been out of school two or more years.
4. The instrument is not as time expending as one might be led to believe. What little time is required should not prove disturbing to school authorities when an attempt is made to check symptoms of maladjustment which may lead to criminal careers.
5. The instrument contributes to both the court worker and the

school teacher an understanding of what constitutes a good or undesirable social and emotional life. The teacher and the court worker are both in need of a better understanding of those factors which make for normal child behavior.

6. The instrument tends to "force and sharpen the judgment" of those assigned to responsibilities relating to processes of education and rehabilitation.

7. The instrument can help to determine where changes in program and techniques are indicated.

8. The instrument serves to evaluate the relationships existing between the teacher and the child. Teachers react differently to the same child, and vice versa.

9. More attention must be paid to the emotional and social adjustment of teachers and social workers themselves in order that they may deal objectively with the needs of a child.

10. Schools and courts are overburdened with heavy teaching and case loads.

11. There exists a definite need for an exchange of findings of the school and child-welfare agencies. Schools have little if any contact with the home and know little or nothing of the family background and home relationships of the child. The child-welfare agencies know too little of the actual adjustment of the child in the school.

THE COLLEGE GIRL AND THE DEPRESSION¹

A Study of the Adjustments of One Hundred Single, Unemployed College Graduates During the Depression

NATALIA S. STONE

The 100 women graduates who supplied the data for this study lived in the metropolitan area of Detroit. All were graduated in 1929 or later, and 85 per cent in 1931 and 1932. The majority (87 per cent) had attended coeducational colleges and universities, chiefly in the midwest, and most had received the Bachelor of Arts degree. About three fourths of the group were reared in cities, about one fourth in small towns, and a few (5 per cent) in rural communities and on farms. The group was relatively mobile; 49 per cent were living in a different State from the one in which they were born. The occupations of the fathers were chiefly (78 per cent) classified as industrial, business, and professional. At the time of the study, 11 per cent of the fathers were unemployed.

The data were collected by means of 67 questions about precollege, college, and postcollege attitudes, formulated with the intention of throwing light on adjustment problems and the educational implications of the group's experiences.

PRECOLLEGE EXPECTATIONS AND ATTITUDES

Most of the young women (67 per cent) made their own choice of the college they attended; 20 per cent went to a college of their parents' choice; and 13 per cent to a college recommended by friends.

¹Published by the Merrill-Palmer School, Detroit. With the permission of the author, the report has been condensed from a thesis presented for the degree of Master of Arts at Ohio State University, and prepared for publication by Dorothy Tyler of the Merrill-Palmer staff. The study was made when the author was a Research Fellow of the Advisory Service for College Women at the Merrill-Palmer School.

The author wishes to express her appreciation to Dr. Robert Geib Foster, under whose direction and encouragement the study was made at the Merrill-Palmer School; to Dean Esther Allen Gaw of Ohio State University; and to Dr. E. Lee Vincent, Dr. Rachel Stutsman, and Mrs. Pauline Wilson, of the Merrill-Palmer School, for assistance in the organization of the material.

A large proportion expected early to go to college; 88 per cent had this expectation before the age of fifteen. Most (95 per cent) expected to earn their living after graduation, with teaching as their predominant vocational interest. About half (54.6 per cent) stated that their parents had "a definite ambition for them"; teaching again being the most common choice.

The rather generalized aim in going to college, expressed as a desire for cultural training or to continue education, presents a contrast to the later criticism of the college as failing to give specific and practical assistance toward a job, and shows a wide divergence between expectations from college at the time of entrance and judgment of the value of what it gave in the light of later conditions. Such a situation suggests that the orientation courses given to college freshmen come too late, and that some department of the high school might undertake to orient junior and senior students not only to different colleges and the different opportunities they offer, but also to all possibilities, of which college attendance is only one.

The type of gainful work undertaken before and while attending college showed a high correlation but was very little related to their vocational choice. The three types most frequently mentioned were clerical work, selling, and working as a waitress, while only 14 engaged in part-time work of potential training value: camp counselor, teaching, and professional music.

COLLEGE EXPERIENCES AND ATTITUDES

Three fourths of the group lived in a dormitory at some time during their college attendance, and one fourth at home. A few lived at some time with relatives, and at private houses and boarding-houses. The average yearly expenses varied from \$300 to over \$2,500, with the greater number ranging from \$600 to \$1,500. Of the 92 who indicated the source of their income while in college, 54 were supported entirely by their parents, 21 worked during the school year, 20 during the summer, and 12 received scholarships.

That student interest is an important factor both in the choice of the college and the student's major is shown by the fact that of the 18 who transferred from one college to another all but 5 changed to pursue a more advantageous educational or social opportunity; and of the entire group, interest prompted the selection of the major of all but 9 of the students.

WORRIES IN COLLEGE AND AFTERWARD

The replies to the questions, "What were your greatest worries during college? What are they now?" are significant. While in college, the three most disturbing problems were financial (40), scholarship (28), and men and social life (21). After college, the financial worries were even more pronounced (56), men and social life were second in importance (14), and two new problems had become important: adjustment to reality (11) and getting married (7). It is interesting to note that only one student worried over sex problems either in college or afterward.

Use of college personnel services. The value of advisory services available to students is controversial. Of 98 of the present group, 85.7 per cent had asked advice of some one in college; 14.28 per cent had not. The greater number sought advice about academic work and jobs; 20, about personal problems; and 7, about religion. Of the 79 who answered the question, "Can you see any difference in attitude or actions on your part due to these conferences?" 59.5 per cent said "no," and 40.5 per cent, "yes." The possibility that the student was influenced without realizing it must, of course, be considered.

The group readily offered suggestions for the improvement of such services, as shown on page 339.

There is a great emphasis on the need for advisers who are friendly and interested. The personnel services of most colleges are sufficiently recent to make reorganization and adjustments to meet the genuine needs of students entirely feasible. These individual comments suggest that experiments might well be made to determine the best ways of serving students through such services.

<i>Suggestion for Improvement</i>	<i>Times Mentioned</i>
Instructors should show more personal, friendly interest	30
Specific vocational advice	5
Younger, attractive people	4
Should be compulsory	3
Educate students to its value	3
Advisers should not let personal bias enter	3
No improvements necessary	3
Advisers should give inspiration and encouragement	3
Trained but humanized people	2

"Bull sessions." The question, "Were 'bull sessions' while you were in college chiefly concerned with timely gossip, sex, delving into questions of life, men, subject material (*i.e.*, controversies in literature, art, etc.), other topics?" brought the following answers from 98 students:

	<i>Times Mentioned</i>
Timely gossip	67
Delving into questions of life	67
Men	55
Subject material	54
Sex	52

The results of the study showed that other subjects which might well have been listed were religion, professors, problems of human relationship, and the possibility of getting a job.

Changes in ambitions since graduation. Of the 57 answers to the questions, "What was your greatest ambition at the time of graduating from college? What is your greatest ambition now?" 20 showed a change of ambition, while 37 showed no change. In the 20 cases of changed ambitions, 15 listed some other vocation and 5 shifted from a job to marriage. In the 37 cases of unchanged ambitions, the predominant objectives were "a job" and teaching, with the following ambitions named in the order of decreasing times mentioned: writing job, marriage, make good, social work, repay parents, graduate work, art job, professional accompanist, music

supervisor, speech work, business training, interior decorator, occupational therapy, nurse, architect.

In summary, the information concerning the college period shows that in most cases the students' ambitions do not change appreciably after graduation, even when they are unable to attain their goal; that the predominating worry at college is concerned with academic matters and afterward shifts to jobs, finances, marriage, and adjustment to reality and the future. The following comment from one of the questionnaires shows the beginning of awareness of what may happen in aftercollege life:

It was not until my senior year at the university, when my executive responsibilities bore heavily on me, that I began to question the purpose and permanent value of extracurricular activities. (I understand that there is now in force a point system which prohibits too great a centralization of activities.)

Sorority, social relationships, and campus activities were a vital, vigorous, and stimulating influence for me at one time. Pride made me an A student, but I was not actually and vitally interested in big scholastic pursuits. I lived college so completely, so fully day in and day out, that I never thought of the future before me and of the realities of a living world into which I was soon to plunge—never guessing how totally unprepared I was to do anything.

As we grow older we realize that in this relentless competitive system each year counts; that often persons of less ability than we possess are pushing far ahead of us because of lucky breaks, dogged determination, "pull," etc.; that if we are to survive we must get in and fight—all easier said than done!—so we may well wish that our college years had been concentrated on something which would have better prepared us to earn a substantial and interesting livelihood.

POSTCOLLEGE EVALUATIONS OF THE COLLEGE EXPERIENCE IN RELATION TO PRESENT CONDITIONS

Influence of college attendance on relations with family. The answers to two questions about the girl's relations with her family before and after attending college show, on the whole, a definite

improvement in this respect. In the cases of improved relations with individual members of the family, the reasons commonly given are "grown up," "more sympathy," "appreciation of family's sacrifice," "greater understanding," "patience and tact," and "know better how to adjust." Where the relations are not as good as formerly, the reasons given are "finances," "feelings of inferiority," and "unpleasant religious experience."

Though the relative influence of growing up, the experiences of contact with varying types of people in dormitory life, which most of the group experienced, and other factors of college life cannot be determined, the replies show that a decided improvement in the girls' relations with their families took place after they had attended college. Though such an improvement is probably to be attributed more to a growing maturity than to the college experience as such, the data seem to indicate that this experience does make the student more tolerant of the opinions of her family, even when these differ greatly from her own. In the few cases in which college attendance had an adverse influence in this respect, the reasons given reflect a divergence in intellectual interests brought about by further education and a transitional period in the relation between parent and child which might be expected in view of the recency of graduation.

SATISFACTIONS AND DISSATISFACTIONS WITH THE COLLEGE EXPERIENCE

General dissatisfactions with the college experience are shown in the answers to the question: As you look back on your college experience, check if it seems to you to have been:

	<i>Times Mentioned</i>
Too theoretical	42
Lacking in social contacts and opportunities	30
Too remote from actual life	24
Too regulative of course choice	21
Lacking in inspirational adult contacts	17
Too practical	1

Expectations of what the college experience would accomplish for the student are shown by the answers to a question asking the student to indicate after each statement whether or not she expected her college experience to give her better adjustment than the non-college student. The strongest expectations were for making more money than noncollege graduates, greater powers of self-expression, leadership, public spiritedness, social adjustment, and knowledge of contemporary affairs.

The influence of the college experience on various adjustments, habits, and abilities was estimated as follows (+ indicating positive influence, — negative influence, and ? a negligible amount of influence):

	+	—	?	Total
Ability to meet people	91	1	8	100
Ability to think for oneself	89	1	8	98
Philosophy of life	80	4	11	95
Habits of work	77	6	14	97
Social life and contacts	75	5	20	100
Political and economic ideas with which to interpret the present	65	6	24	95
Preparation to earn a living	63	8	24	95
Ability to face reality	62	8	22	92
Sex education	58	12	25	95
Broadened recreational life	58	12	27	97
Health and personal hygiene	47	10	35	92
Religious life	34	23	38	95
Family adjustments	34	14	49	97

Thus the college experience was considered to have only partially fulfilled expectations. It had a positive influence most often on the ability to meet people, the ability to think for oneself, and in developing a philosophy of life; and a negative or negligible influence most often on health and personal hygiene, religious life, and family adjustments.

To the question, "Did you come out of college cognizant of present social, economic, and political problems?" 60.8 per cent an-

swered "yes"; 31.9 per cent, "no"; and 7.3 per cent, "perhaps." Of the nearly one third who said that college had failed to make them cognizant of such problems, 9 attributed this failure to the fact that "college is too secluded from contemporary affairs"; others gave more personal reasons—lack of interest, immaturity, and failure to take courses dealing with such problems.

The replies to the questions on health showed that at the time of graduation 41 found themselves in poorer health than formerly, 38 in the same state of health, while 16 had better health. The reasons given for improved health were rest, more exercise, less strain, and better food; for poorer health, fatigue, overwork, strain, and insufficient sleep. About half the group said their health had improved since leaving college; about half, that they were in the same state of health. A few were in poorer health. About two thirds found that they did not take sufficient exercise after college days. Of 94 who answered, 57.5 per cent said that the college failed to give them an understanding of their sex needs and methods of dealing with them; 42.5 per cent, that it did.

Participation in various activities during and after college. A comparison of the amount of participation in various activities during and after college attendance shows some interesting results:

Comparison of Participation in College and Since

<i>Activity</i>	<i>More</i>	<i>Less</i>	<i>Same</i>	<i>Total</i>
Reading	61	17	17	95
Church work	38	17	37	92
Dating	22	31	46	99
Movies	20	41	38	99
Exercise	16	38	37	91
Dances	13	56	31	100
"Bull sessions" or equivalent	12	64	20	96
Study	11	69	17	97
Athletics	10	54	32	96
Sorority participation	3	26	20	49

The data show the greatest increase in reading, presumably for recreation, as an aftercollege activity; the greatest decrease in study. Church work appears to have been a fairly constant interest, with 38 reporting increased participation and 37 the same amount. Participation in "dating" remained most nearly the same, though 31 of the group reported less "dating" since leaving college, and 22, more. The data on motion pictures are interesting in relation to an unemployed group. Though they do not show the amount of attendance, they do show that 41 went less often, though they had more free time, perhaps because of the expense involved. However, 20 did attend more often, while 38 reported no change.

The decreases in participation in "bull sessions," dancing, and athletics would be expected, since these are all activities associated with college life. It is more surprising to find a total of 32 reporting more or an equal amount of participation in "bull sessions"; 44, in dancing; and 42, in athletics. The relatively active continuance of participation in these activities is probably to be explained by free time and the opportunities offered by a large city.

POSTCOLLEGE PROBLEMS AND ATTITUDES

As would be expected, the two major problems of the group unemployed during a depression were financial problems and how to go about getting a job. The order of importance they attributed to other problems was as follows: marriage, how to meet other young people, and how to get additional training. These data bear on the students' appraisal of the strong and weak aspects of their college training. Replies concerning the contribution of college experience to preparation for postcollege life showed that preparation for use of leisure time, social relationships, and aesthetic and spiritual appreciation, and assistance toward personality adjustment were considered most important. The college's contribution to preparation for marriage and family life and for professional contacts and success were regarded as relatively unimportant.

To the question, "How do you feel college might better train students to meet and interpret the practical side of life, to the end that theories become more meaningful?" 35 answered, "Make college more practical." From one to six made the following suggestions: "Antioch has a good plan," study current life, have more "aware" teachers, foster thinking instead of recall, have a course on the family, have fewer detailed courses for those not specializing, more specialization, more sex information, learn to do more than one thing well, should get some hard knocks, more concrete material. A few had no suggestions to make. Two were of the opinion that "college is too idealistic," and one each that there is "too much theory" and that "students should not be shielded." A total of five were for the *status quo*; three of these said that "the college does all it can," and two, that there is "no need to do anything."

Volunteer work. A point of interest in the answers to a question about the types of volunteer work they are fitted to do and would be willing to undertake in their spare time is that while 54 had indicated that teaching was their first choice of position, only 8 mention it as their choice of volunteer work. The explanation is perhaps that many people think first of social work as available to volunteer workers. A scattering of many other types of work was mentioned, including child care, music, girls' clubs, Y.W.C.A. work, clerical work, dressmaking, and sports and recreation.

Reasons for unemployment. Of the entire group, 93 per cent had made efforts to secure employment, mentioning agencies, bureaus, letters, interviews, and applications as their means of seeking it. To the question, "Why do you feel you have been unable to find employment?" the most common answers were "depression" and "lack of experience." Two thirds (65 per cent) of the group felt that work was imperative for them within a year; 35 per cent, that it was not. Of the 91 who stated the alternatives they would choose if they did not find work, 31 said they would stay at home, 12 that they would start graduate study. Others mentioned "accepting something," vol-

unteer work, private teaching, marriage, borrowing money, taking a secretarial course, night school, enjoying social life, making the best of a meager job, and "working with the Junior League 100 hours a year."

Since lack of experience is mentioned so often as the cause of unemployment, it would appear that volunteer work offering opportunities for varied service would be preferable to staying at home or to graduate work for these unemployed girls. There appears to be an increasing need for some type of apprenticeship or volunteer work, not only to provide experience but also to absorb young people into purposeful activities, so that they may not feel the futility that comes of learning to believe in the ideal of work and accomplishment and then finding that the one is unavailable and the other impossible. Staying at home after graduation makes the problem of unemployment even more acute for girls whose families have made sacrifices to give them an education. One says, "I will eat up the family's money and regret it"; another, "I hate to live on my parents"; another, "I shall be a burden to my family." One says that she will marry to relieve the family.

Under the question, "If you could get a job, check the kind you prefer in order of preference, and check X after those you would not take under any consideration" were listed 24 kinds of work, including not only teaching, social work, and the like, but also waiting on tables, dishwashing, and laundry work. First preferences again were teaching (51 per cent) and social work (11 per cent), with writing and housewifery each claiming 9 per cent. Ten per cent said that if necessity demanded it, they would consider no job too menial to accept. The preponderance of newly trained teachers among these graduates and other college groups probably indicates an inadequate vocational guidance.

To the question, "Has your college training fortified you with a philosophy of life that enables you to meet present conditions courageously and to maintain your faith in the possibility of future suc-

cess?" 84.7 per cent answered "yes"; 11.9 per cent, "no"; and 3.4 per cent, "doubtful."

Suggestions for adjustment to unemployment. Such a group as this one has had much experience in adjusting to unemployment and should have suggestions which, put into effect, would improve the mental health not only of their own group but also of others among the many unemployed young college women throughout the country. To elicit such suggestions, the following question was asked: "If there are to be several thousand unemployed single college women in your community and others during the next five years, what proposals have you for their making the necessary personal, social, and family adjustments to the situation?" The greater number suggested volunteer work; keeping up college and church contacts, sorority alumnae activities, and Y.W.C.A. work; keeping busy and keeping the mind occupied; being coöperative at home, understanding the stress and alleviating the strain; undertaking further study at the library in a chosen field; joining study groups on contemporary music and art topics; developing a hobby; and broadened library study for "things not gained at college." Diminishing numbers suggested entering into community activities; free lectures and concerts; "stop dreaming of college"; "keep your health fit so you will be ready to give your best"; "be courageous"; a serious self-appraisal; Y.W.C.A. and Y.M.C.A. leisure-time discussions for both sexes; small divisions of the A.A.U.W. for congenial friends; "marry if you can"; vocational bureau for college women; emergency unemployed schools; university extension courses; taking up domestic activities seriously; going into social work; "barter your skills—trade your sewing for another's typing"; "have normal, healthy contacts with men"; "I wish I knew"; booklists of good reading at the libraries; "the economic system has collapsed—national planning for all of us"; join a student group if possible; attend good plays and music in cheap seats; go into State and municipally controlled social-service work; free entertainment column in the news-

paper; "college women should not adjust—capitalists and politicians ought to"; use of an advisory system; taking a battery of vocational tests to indicate fitness for further training.

The majority of these suggestions imply that the situation is temporary, and that their chief problem is to "tide over"; in the meantime keeping up their courage in various ways and gaining greater fitness for a job, whether in the field in which they are trained or in some other in which there is greater opportunity. It is interesting that only three suggest direct action to change the economic system, to which they attribute their present plight.

The following excerpts from their answers to the question further describe their attitude toward adjusting to unemployment.

I would urge formation of clubs, hobby centers, and vocational training organizations, where unemployed college women may meet socially, develop leadership, broaden interests, and learn practical arts which will help them to establish themselves later in a job or a home. To keep them usefully occupied is the biggest mental-hygiene measure.

I think an organization of unemployed women, where there are enough of them in the community, would be helpful in many cases. Through it, the unemployed college girl might meet congenial people and have social and recreational outlets as well as intellectual interest. It has been my own experience that after being away from home four years, I feel as if my interests and those of my friends have changed to such an extent that I have few congenial friends left in my home town and am at a loss to know where and how to meet them. It would also be easier for the unemployed women to do volunteer work or any kind of work for the community or themselves as a group rather than as individuals. Development of such outside interests are, it seems to me, the best way of making adjustments within the family easier.

The suggestions of the group for the adjustment of a large number of unemployed, single college women over a period of years are further explained by these excerpts from their answers:

The most important thing would be to keep them congenially occupied. There should be opportunities for leadership in community projects,

such as classes in handwork and various other crafts, recreation projects for young and not so young, study classes, and other projects. From my own experience during the past two years, I would suggest that the unemployed college woman spend as much time as she can in such work or in work in her own church and its projects. Idleness breeds restlessness and unhappiness. The necessary adjustments will be made more quickly and easily if she has not too much time to dwell on these problems.

The most necessary adjustment, it seems to me, is the realization that you are on a level with those less well educated. It is no longer possible to jump into a good position with no experience just because of your education. You must take your chance with the others. If you *are* better fitted, it will show and advancement will follow. . . . If there is no position of any kind, it is an unparalleled opportunity for self-education. In college your courses are planned, so much work is required. Here is an opportunity to do research on your own.

First, they should recognize the fact that full-time employment is not available. Since limitation of the working week is being seriously considered, I believe it would be worth their while to organize and agree to seek for half-time employment for the time being. At any rate, they might accomplish more if they were to meet the situation as a group. In their group relationship they could make a serious study of the problems of the day and exert their minds in trying to find at least some minor solutions. It would be great sport even if they did not find any workable ones.

As most of them have aspirations toward master's and doctor's degrees which are being postponed for financial reasons, why can't they work together seriously as a group and save their tuition fees? The public libraries are still open. If college has given them anything it should have given them the ability to take a subject about which they know nothing, to locate all the available material about it, and to study and discuss it until they really know something about it. Only when they have made a serious start and come to a problem they can't solve to their own satisfaction need they seek expert advice. That is my idea of adult education. . . . To do this it would be necessary to reëducate their families to see that they would be justified in taking a definite period of each day for their own use even though they could bring home nothing so tangible as a diploma or a pay check. And as long as they are living at home and depending on some one else for necessities, they could arrange to take over some of the house-

hold duties which could be done at stated times rather than being scattered through the day.

From my own experience I have found that my mental state, and physical too, has been tremendously improved since I have occupied my time in volunteer work. The idea that I am not making anything does bother me, however, and I feel that if there was some possibility of my ever working from the job I now have into one that would net me something financially I would take a much more sincere interest in it. My only suggestion would be along these lines—finding positions that can for the present be volunteer, with a definite chance of a paying job when times get better.

SUMMARY

The subjective nature of the evaluation of their college experience made by these women in the light of their unemployment makes it impossible to present conclusions, except such as represent a group of common and recurring elements in their individual reports.

Most of the group appear to have had only a vague, generalized aim in going to college; to have gone because for them it was as normal as going to high school, or because other people were going. Such an attitude raises the question of whether the college experience might not be a more vital, purposeful activity if it were approached with a better understanding of what individual objectives might be achieved through careful planning, and if there were some scheme of orienting students in the transition period between high school and college so that they might understand the opportunities and limitations of college training for them from some other point of view than that of their temporary inclinations or those of over-eager parents.

The greatest contribution of the college experience to the group, aside from specific education, seems to be in increased social adjustability and a feeling of independence and realization of personality. The majority value the college experience for the new avenues of interest and pleasure opened to them, which mitigate their unemployed state. To some the apparent waste of time and money, since

no remunerative work is forthcoming, is a continual cause for despondency.

In view of the great difference in the college and postcollege environments and the difficulty of transferring from the one to the other, it is possible that there would be some value in developing a plan of orientation in the junior and senior years which would seek to prepare the student to take her place in whatever environment awaits her, in order that there might be less uncertainty and despondency in this transitional period.

These young women attribute their unemployment chiefly to the depression and their lack of experience, a condition representing a vicious circle and leading to a mental state little adapted to developing the assurance and responsibility which they will need when opportunity arises.

Suggestions made by the group for alleviating their unemployment included taking advantage of newspaper lists of free lectures and entertainment current in the city; general reading lists in the libraries, outlining background reading in such subjects as psychology, art, or the novel; Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A. joint recreation programs; study groups for a better understanding of contemporary affairs; a barter service of skills; development of individual hobbies as a mental health measure; supervised volunteer work; a vocational bureau for college women, administered in such a way that employers may know of available trained women and women may register for the type of employment for which their education has fitted them; a vocational testing bureau as a means of adjusting individuals to the type of work best suited to their capacities and interests.

PITFALLS IN THE PATH OF ADOLESCENT VOCATIONAL INITIATIVE

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The following interview between an employment officer and a young man was recently reported: "There was an opening which Horace could fill without experience, yet which could lead to an established position. Horace agreed that it was ideal, but a person could see, couldn't they, that if he accepted this job he could no longer take care of his sister's house. His sister had given him a home and he had cut the grass and looked after the place. He owed something to his sister, didn't he?" The article continues: "We have always had unemployables in this country. Now we are developing many more who are on the road to incorrigible inertia."

There is no doubt that adolescent initiative in the direction of self-development and service has been widely stagnated. Close analysis of the undermining forces, however, warrants greater concern about objective factors beyond the individual's control than the emphasis of the above quotation would suggest. The purpose of the present article is to point out briefly some of the delinquencies of the social environment from which youth must gain their occupational motivation. The author will first draw upon his experience as director of one of the vocational and educational guidance clinics of the National Youth Administration to evaluate the junior relief jobs represented by the out-of-school work assignments of the NYA. Then, in answer to any implication that vocational inertia springs primarily from the relief set-up, another list of factors quite independent of governmental aid will be enumerated.

First and foremost on a relief job, granting that the necessity of financial aid is very real, is the sureness of the job by reason of this necessity. Need, not skill, has to be the criteria. And as long as need continues, so must the job. And each week that the job, through

need, has to continue, the person is drawing further and further away from earlier teachers, employers, and recommendations unless intelligent initiative is strong enough to counteract the drift. Then, also, without realizing it, need may have given way to habit. An interesting local illustration occurred when a new regulation regarding aliens and upper age limit automatically dropped a group from the rolls. Within six weeks 71 per cent had successfully found private employment. Wholesale removal could not, of course, likewise succeed. Large-scale reemployment would not only provide a natural exodus from relief but would also put the easygoing in a less satisfactory light in remaining behind with the real unemployables.

Turning now from certainty of work to speed of work, other factors are found which are a menace to initiative. In private employment it is commonly realized that one must produce in order to hold a job. Contrasting to this, as an example of lag, several girls doing rug work for their own financial profit produced roughly twice as much work per hour as similar work on NYA time within the same month. Yet it should not be supposed that this is all to be laid to adolescent chiseling. Many NYA supervisors are anxious to obtain care, thoroughness, and insight as well as quantitative output. Adequate materials to work with are by no means always available. The Federal Government provides money largely for wages and expects local sponsors to provide materials such as sewing machines and the goods to be worked on the sewing machines. In actual practice, production is sometimes unduly restricted by most inadequate machinery and the urge of local treasuries not to requisition raw material too rapidly. Thus to accustom oneself to lengthy delays and sometimes an artificially slow pace is an obvious menace to morale, initiative, and aggressiveness of work habits.

Another item of tempo is in the fifty-hour-per-month limitation on NYA work projects. This amounts to only about two hours per working day or less than two full days per week and is cited to suggest the complexity of the motivational problem for youth on these

projects. Many have the stamina to use in a profitable manner the large remainder of time on other part-time jobs, night-school classes, hunting a better job, or other self-improvement. With some, however, this limited time is a means toward laziness, bad associates, excuse for not hunting something better, and a generally reduced habituation to the requirements of full-time work.

Let it not be assumed from the foregoing criticisms that the effects of these NYA jobs are predominantly negative. Quite the contrary. The opportunities for worthy and inexperienced youth to gain knowledge, skill, discipline, and the beginning of a work record as assistants in offices, libraries, machine shops, hospitals, nurseries, and building projects have in countless cases been invaluable to the young person. Many have been enabled to step into private employment through this work experience, and the local NYA rolls showed a 33 per cent decrease in the months prior to the recession.

Let us now turn to certain inhibiting factors in the world of employment not at all connected with governmental aid: wages, nationality, lack of experience, negative counseling, and ill-chosen self-improvement courses.

The following are examples of local wages offered and accepted in a period in which the labor pool of unemployed and out-of-school youth is so large: A responsible high-school graduate doing good drafting and sketching for a neon sign company is drawing \$8.00 for a forty-eight-hour week and has just been told this must remain his rate as a learner for the next ten months. A leading bank pays a beginning clerical assistant \$6.00 for a thirty-six-hour week. These are not unskilled labor jobs. As an example of an unskilled job a local hospital is paying a girl \$17.00 per month and meals for scrubbing up rooms and wards. The girl comes at 7.00 a. m. and leaves at 7.00 p. m. She is off duty from 1.00 to 4.00 p. m. and one day in eight. Wages such as the above provide little encouragement to initiative and development.

Allied with wages is much discrimination against certain nation-

alities, particularly Italian and Mexican youth in this region. Such prejudice falls with more severity on adolescents of superior intelligence, training, and ambition for skilled positions. Their racial appearance, names, and street addresses nevertheless tend to shunt them to the unskilled fields engaged in by their less endowed kinfolk. The case of an intelligent and personable Mexican boy comes to mind. This young man graduated from high school with an excellent record in commercial courses. He had a good experience record as commissary clerk and stenographer at a CCC camp where he also performed valuable service in translating the Spanish language. Yet, despite excellent testimonials and the fact that male secretarial help is in demand, an adequate placement could not be effected. The young man fulfilled the requirements of an opening in a local railroad office except for his racial background, but this factor ruled him out. The best thing that some of these young people can do for themselves, though this does not help their group, is to go to an area where they can enjoy better standing.

Of wider significance than wage and race is the demand for experience, even though such has not been widely possible for youth launched into the occupational world during the depression period. Employers have not as a whole become educated to other important criteria of selection such as intelligence, aptitudes, and ambitions. Instead they will take a chance on somewhat more experienced individuals without adequately weighing these other positive factors. The average public employment office has not as yet developed techniques and staff adequate to this approach and thus renders less aid to youth than to adults.

Despite an increasing number of promising reorientations, schools are not as yet well organized to provide a real working relationship between classroom and the world of work. By and large they assume little responsibility for the success or failure of the student *after* graduation. The schools have only begun to survey the market for their product, and revise the spirit and content of their work relative

to such research. For example, a leading industrial city in a western State is devoid of any trade school. The two high schools provide some good shop courses but the student handbook of one of them cautions students that "Many make the mistake of thinking they are not going to college and take courses that make it impossible for them to meet the college entrance requirements. It is better to take the college preparatory course and be ready, should the opportunity of attending college arise, than to have taken four years' work in some other course and be unable to go because of this." By contrast, a near-by smaller town has integrated school and part-time work in local establishments so successfully under the leadership of the State Department of Vocational Education that not a single NYA junior relief project is operating in the town. The crucial problem is that of rapport with the vocational world without sacrificing other pressing demands of culture and citizenship. In this connection the Sixteenth Yearbook of the American Association of School Administrators, entitled *Youth Education Today*, published in 1938, is dedicated to these issues and reports or refers to much important experimentation and reorganization.

The difficulties of gaining experience can be looked at not only from the standpoint of school and employer but also from the standpoint of the craft unions. Apprenticing quite naturally broke down in the depression when there was far too little work for the already competent adults. This mode of experience has not as yet achieved a real revival and union craftsmen are loath to push such a program in the fear of continued slump. This leaves the spectacle of middle-aged artisans with too few being trained ultimately to step into their shoes. The Colorado Apprentice Commissioner states that, in the industrial city already referred to, the last full-fledged apprenticeship in the painters' and decorators' union was fifteen years ago, and that a gap of this size is fairly common in numerous other trades and localities. This antedates the depression and is coincident with great increases in high-school population. The Federal Committee

on Apprentice Training created in 1934 is grappling with these problems but it must be remembered that rank and file response to its leadership will take time. To date, less than ten States have acts providing for voluntary apprenticeship under approved agreements and standards relative to working conditions, supplementary education, and reasonable earnings.

Where schools, employers, and apprenticing bodies have all conspired to neglect the fundamentally important necessity for beginning experience, youth is indeed in a dilemma. As one writer recently put it, youth poses the question: "No work—no experience; no experience—no work, so what?" In many cases the "so what" has been a most damaging deterioration of initiative, especially for those leaving school three or four years ago. The Horaces, the delinquents, and the confirmed drifters have been recruited heavily from this group. In the field of psychiatry the schizophrenic, who may be well on the road to pathological inertia and withdrawal before others realize the condition, is well known. It may not be extreme to draw the analogy of an occupational schizophrenia related to the frustrations here outlined in much the same way that pathological disintegration is related, at least in part, to extreme frustration in personal relationships.

Two other negative factors are also important. Many adolescents in talking things over with a counselor will apologetically cast up the score against themselves. Perhaps it is very little schooling, or loss of a job, or too much change of residence, or large family, or little work experience, or wrong nationality. Much of this is alibi, of course, but it also seems probable that too many well-meaning people—counselors, prospective employers, and even parents and friends—merely impress the youth with what he lacks (and possibly cannot get) rather than count up his real resources. He or she may have assets of physique, attractiveness, ability to get along well with others, and character or moral qualities superior to many a high-school and college graduate. While limiting factors must be

taken into account, these positive factors are the ones upon which such an individual must make good, and these must therefore be made the center of planning. It is all too easy to injure morale and faith in oneself by inadvertently making limitations the gist of the discussion.

The final item to be considered calls attention to a misdirecting factor rather than an inhibiting factor. Gullible youth are unmercifully preyed upon by the agents of correspondence schools who promise a sure and quick path to security and advancement. Expensive courses are sold with virtually no consideration of background or capability of the individual. The get-rich-quick appeal couched in plausible and friendly terms is overpowering to many youth confused and discouraged by the other factors considered in this study. Diesel engineering, television, and fingerprinting are lucrative stimuli. An extreme case is that of a boy of twenty with no consistent work record, an I.Q. of 85, less than a seventh-grade education, little personality, and possessing scarcely enough money to keep supplied with food. However, he is sewed up for a \$125.00 course in regional traffic analysis, which he assumes will put him fairly high in a sizable office. In an effort to handle this case the boy was given a card of introduction to a railroad official who could be counted on to supply some wise and sympathetic advice on experience and seniority, but he has not availed himself of this contact.

This completes the enumeration of outside forces which, over a span of time and in combination with each other, may decrease initiative and produce aberrations of conduct. In summary, we may observe that there has been little found that in a widespread way provides youth a sense of belonging or importance in contemporary life. By this is meant a society so organized that responsible participation of youth is the accepted order of things in the eyes of all, young and old—a society that not only has places for junior citizens and workers, but expects and has faith in youth's power of response, and gives reward and standing for such coming of age. In this

respect the initiatory ceremonies of primitive peoples, in their induction of youth into new secrets of the chase or craft, with the attendant responsibility and recognition of matured status, have social and psychological values that are hard but not impossible to duplicate in a more complex civilization.

The Greeks celebrated the step-by-step induction of their junior citizens and provided young manhood with powerful motivations. Likewise, the modern dictatorships have utilized the motivation of belonging and recognition, but to a perverted purpose. In our democracy the instances of high-level participation are not only scattered and miniature, but also varied and numerous. We may note, of course, a close relationship of older and younger in many pursuits handed along rather directly to the oncoming generation, as in agriculture and small business. We see this taking wider form where intensive activity of 4-H clubs in producing better farm products has knit together larger groups within a community. We see organized groups such as the Boy Scouts and the Junior Red Cross upon occasion taking a really functional part in public activity. Here and there we see an improvement project of the CCC or NYA becoming imbued with a spirit of imagination and collaboration beyond the security of the pay check, as library, park, or youth centers take form. We see an increasing number of instances within the school community where it has dawned that self-help can bring an improved building, or athletic field, or broadened curricula to pass, and where administration, students, and town have forthwith joined hands and really worked together. There can be no one way or formula to create these achievements of vision and action in which adolescence has such a vital stake. But where united leadership, coöperation, understanding of the needs of youth, and broader motives than private profit can emerge we will have these instances multiply and take more comprehensive form.

BRITAIN TACKLED THE YOUTH PROBLEM¹

LEVI D. GRESH

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Possibly the outstanding question confronting youth today is: How can I bridge the gap between school and eventual adjustment on a job with some prospects of permanence and promotion? Considerable factual evidence has been collated in the hope that knowledge of the problem will indicate steps to be taken in its solution. It is known, for example, that in the United States more than ten million youth reached the employable age during the period from 1920 to 1935, and that only half of this number had secured employment by 1935. It is also known that the ratio of adults over twenty to youth under sixteen has increased considerably during the same period. Certain studies also reveal that thousands of youth are not trained for even the work opportunities that are available, and that thousands of others are misplaced in the jobs they hold. Still other investigations clearly indicate that there has been a steady trend toward excluding youth under twenty-one from employment, while at the same time a steady rise in educational requirements for employment is apparent. Such factors as the concentration of population and industrial mechanization simply add to the complexity of the situation. The seriousness of the problem is claiming more and more attention in the United States which, unfortunately, has not yet attacked it on the same long-time practical basis as has England.

THE BRITISH APPROACH TO THE PROBLEM OF UNEMPLOYED YOUTH

The youth guidance and adjustment program in England is more directly related to the objective of securing proper employment than

¹ Despite England's entry into the war and the necessary cessation of the activities described in this article, the editors believe that the plan is still as suggestive of potential development in America as when the article was accepted for future publication.

are the efforts in the United States. It is supervised by the National Ministry of Labor, and financed by it to the extent of seventy-five per cent. It is administered by the local education authority and cares for individuals between fourteen and eighteen years of age, although there is considerable feeling that it should be extended to the age of twenty-one. Let us see how the British program operates.

The youth plans to leave school. This he can do only at the end of the school term. Aside from the administrative advantages of this feature, there are others that obviously might be mentioned. Before he does leave, a conference takes place in school between the youth and his parents and a committee composed of representatives of the Juvenile Employment Bureau and the school principal. Cards are prepared containing significant data which are forwarded to the Bureau. At this time also the youth is furnished with a library card, schedules of evening schools and institutes, etc.

After the youth has left school. He is given thirty days in which to obtain employment through his own endeavors. If he has been successful in obtaining a position during this time his employer must immediately notify the Juvenile Employment Bureau, which then issues the youth his unemployment insurance card. If the youth through his own efforts has secured no employment within thirty days, he must report to the Bureau, which places his card in the files awaiting employment and sends him to a Juvenile Instruction Center (J.I.C.).

The Juvenile Instruction Center. The work of the J.I.C. is directly connected with the Juvenile Employment Bureau. While not really a "school" in the British sense, the J.I.C. offers a curriculum and activities program specifically designed to meet the needs of these unplaced youth from the poorer families. It has two chief objectives; namely, to avoid demoralization, and to increase employability. It is worth noting that its faculty is not limited to certified teachers. It is also worth pointing out that the attendance at these J.I.C.'s fluctuates with the ups and downs of the industrial situation.

It is a very reliable barometer of unemployment conditions throughout the country.

A call comes for a worker. When an employer desires a worker, he files notice with the Bureau. Parenthetically, it may be stated that the British private employer really uses the Employment Bureau to obtain his labor. Upon receiving the employer's notice, the Bureau files it, and immediately calls the J.I.C. A youth is sent immediately, and he reports to the Bureau which sends him to the proper employer. If the youth continues on the job, he is assigned at the end of the first week. During his whole first half year of employment he reports, usually in the evening, to what is called a Rota Committee. This Committee has two main purposes: one is to follow the youth's progress in his line of work, and the other is to locate unscrupulous employers.

The youth loses his job. When this takes place, the employer must forward the youth's unemployment insurance card to the Bureau immediately. Within six days the youth reports either to the Bureau or to the Director of Child Welfare. He is returned to the J.I.C., and a record of the reason for the loss of position, etc., is made on his card. If the youth in question is sixteen years of age and was employed thirty weeks, he draws unemployment insurance through the Juvenile Employment Bureau. Upon reaching the age of eighteen, his records are transferred to the regular employment office, in order that his unemployment insurance and further vocational adjustments can be handled in the light of what has gone before.

OTHER ADJUSTMENT SERVICES NOT DIRECTLY RELATED TO EMPLOYMENT

It must be clear from what has been said that in England a continuous contact is kept with youth out of work as well as with those placed in employment. Youth does not constitute a "lost generation" in England. The British realize too that youth does not "live by bread alone" and that its thoughts are "long, long thoughts."

Adjustment services, other than those directly related to employment, are provided to take care of youth needs and to solve the problem of youth delinquency. All of these services are related to education, just as are the employment services. The J.I.C. and its work for unemployed youth has already been described. Evening institutes, workers' education classes, and a maze of adult-education activities for those employed constitute another approach. Paramount, however, is the Juvenile Organization Committee.

The Juvenile Organization Committee. This is a voluntary committee composed of the local educational leaders, club leaders, boy- and girl-scout directors, and representatives of social-welfare organizations. It is interesting to note that the local education authority employs a full-time secretary for the Committee. The J.O.C. provides a coördination of effort, along local youth-service lines, which is most admirable. Between forty and fifty per cent of all young people are enrolled in some sort of voluntary social-service work. Community youth centers are operated, experiments in the new housing estates are conducted, and the whole problem of juvenile delinquency is made a matter of community concern.

The juvenile court. When a boy is brought into juvenile court, there is, in the first place, no hearing unless a representative of the local education authority is present. The education officer presents the boy's school record, his employment record, the results of his physical and mental examinations, as well as the record of the Juvenile Organization Committee, of which the local educator is, of course, also a member. The proposals of the local education authority are almost always adopted by the court. Usually the probation officer or some other representative of the Juvenile Organization Committee assumes responsibility for the boy's future conduct. The law permits the court to designate the local education authority to act in place of the parent. What is more important than all of these details is the fact, substantiated by the record, that the system works, and works well.

CONCLUSIONS

Two things in the preceding outline of the British program for youth must have created an impression. First is the important position occupied by the local director of education, corresponding in this country to the superintendent of schools. The British educator is just what his broad title implies. He is the director of the whole educational and cultural life of his community. All efforts toward helping youth—education, clubs, medical care, unemployment insurance, placement in industry, and follow-up work—are coördinated in his hands.

The second fact is one a bit difficult for Americans to understand. We refer to the enormous amount of time and effort volunteered by local citizens, and especially by young people of the community. English society is as much interested that people give their time as it is that people pay their taxes; and the two items are by no means unrelated, as taxpayers well know.

Finally, it may be stated that the British program for youth is infinitely more coördinated than are our American efforts in the field of youth service up to this time. Guidance and adjustment service is provided for all British youth. Through a coördinated plan, boys and girls are shifted from depressed areas, without the valuable human contacts—which youth needs so badly—being lost. Above all, most of this valuable youth guidance and adjustment work is done indirectly and democratically which, it is submitted, is the only effective manner in which it can be done.

HOW THE MEXICAN GOVERNMENT IS MAKING SOCIALISTS OF ITS PEOPLE

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On the surface the Mexican is the same person today that he was before the drafting of the Plan Sexenal at Querétaro in October 1933. He is, perhaps, a little better fed, a trifle cleaner, but otherwise he shows few traits that mark him as a socialist. The answer is that Mexican socialism is a long-range philosophy that will show its material changes ten, twenty, or even a hundred years from now. The Six-Year Plan, running from 1934 to 1940, is only the laying of the foundation; the raising of the main edifice will come later on. Before socialism can be put into practice on any extensive scale all the citizens must be trained to think and act socialistically, and giving that training is at present one of the biggest tasks of the Cárdenas administration.

Socialism as it is interpreted south of the Rio Bravo is a functional mixture of scientific socialism, as postulated by Marx and Engels, and a return to the communal social patterns of pre-Conquest Mexico. It is a way of living rather than a frame of mind. Carleton Beals remarks: "Only in Mexico is there a definite semi-Socialistic current, but decidedly nationalistic in spirit, and very much cut to a Mexican, not Communist, pattern."¹ Much of the land expropriation, to take only one example, is only a return to the rightful owners of *ejidos* taken from them by Diaz and preceding despoilers and peddled to exploiters.

The chief aim of Mexican socialism is an attempt to give each citizen a share of the national wealth that will enable him and his family to maintain a decent standard of living. To this is to be added sufficient training to make him a moral, intelligent, happy indi-

¹ *The Coming Struggle for Latin America* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1939), p. 158.

vidual. To bring this about the ideological leaders first of all aim for ethnic, psychological, and economic equalization for all.

Such a program seems simple enough at first glance until one considers that of the almost twenty million inhabitants of Mexico some two million speak no Spanish at all and an equal number speak it as a tongue secondary to the fifty or more dialects of the country. Complicate this situation with the fact that the four hundred years following the Conquest saw the Mexican conditioned to be a superstitious pawn, brutalized by inhuman labor, drunkenness, and vice, and the path to be followed becomes more tenuous. Add to this the fact that the per capita wealth of the Mexican is \$192 while that of the foreigners in Mexico before the expropriation was \$22,350, and that in 1930 less than 2,000 persons owned 195,000,000 of the best acres of Mexico² and the job ahead becomes herculean.

To prepare for the impending battle the government is feverishly training every individual she can arouse or reach. To do this she has drafted every technique known to her for the formation of public opinion. She has mobilized a corps of socialist school teachers with a constantly ramifying school system. Mexico uses materialist art, music and dancing, the radio, and various types of festivals and celebrations for reaching the people. To see how she is using these instrumentalities let us examine them in order.

THE SYSTEM OF EDUCATION

Mexican education is being integrated from the kindergarten to the university in one well-articulated system. The Mexican kindergarten is a social welfare as well as an educational center. Its purpose is to help care for the children of working mothers, to add to the physical health of the child through rest, sunshine, and dietary corrections, and to start the work of socialistic indoctrination. The work is carried on through free games and activities, the use of drawing, sand tables, conversations, and trips to laboratories, fac-

²Manuel Palacios, "El Significado de la Educación Socialista," p. 21.

itories, workshops, and to the homes of workers. If the child is from a moderately well-to-do home he is to be made conscious of the conditions under which his less fortunate brother lives. If he comes from the poorest type of home the environment of the kindergarten is expected to arouse in him the need for a simple, economical, hygienic, moral, and aesthetic home cleanliness; better health habits and a knowledge of nature are stressed. Nature study is considered of prime importance because it begins the training in a rational concept of nature, it makes the child conscious of the natural needs and benefits of the country, and it adds to the child's collection of specific information upon which he can later build scientific generalizations. Study is made of seasonal changes, of the superficial habits of insects, birds, and animals, and of the need to conserve natural resources through the saving and planting of trees and shrubs. Patriotism is inculcated through teaching respect for the flag, from historical stories, and from trips to museums and archeological centers of interest.

The primary schools fall into three classes: rural, semi-urban, and urban. Rural primary schools are of four years' duration while the semi-urban and urban may contain two cycles, the four-year and an upper cycle of two years. At the completion of the four-year rural school the student may enter the regional rural school where he specializes in agricultural problems for two years. Those students who desire to be rural teachers may then go through the third year of the school. In the cities the graduates of the four-year elementary school may either enter special vocational courses or continue through the upper two years of the primary school. Graduates of the six-year elementary school are ready for the technical and vocational schools, the secondary schools, or the five-year normal school. Graduates of the secondary school may enter the higher technical and vocational schools, the preparatory school, or the superior normal. At the completion of the preparatory school the student is ready for the university. Something of the growth of the schools can be meas-

ured when one considers that there were 282,253 students in the rural schools in 1929 and 737,329 pupils in 1936.

The two characteristics that every socialist school in Mexico has are practicality and socialization. Frequently one hears the criticism made that the schools in Mexico are simply vocational-training centers. Such a statement cannot be refuted, for it is true. But they are different from vocational schools in most other countries. The student is not only taught to be a more productive member of society; he is taught daily, almost hourly, to remember that he is producing something to be used by society. Profit and exploitation are held up as the constant bugaboos that he is to avoid. The motto of the big government agricultural school at Chapingo is "Exploit the earth, not your brother who is upon it." This polemic almost always takes a constructive form rather than a form of hatred. In other words, the products of the worker's labor is glorified by both art and music. The schools of Mexico are schools of action and work, but action and work that are in themselves of value to society.

It would take a volume to describe the work of the schools but we can at least list some of the special centers that are adding to the work described. There are in various parts of the republic the Schools of the Children of the Army. Thousands of children of soldiers and officers are going to these primary schools where the government provides for the complete living expenses of those attending. There are thirty regional training schools where again the government pays all living expenses of chosen students who are training to be superior farmers and rural teachers. It would seem to be safe to estimate that 80 per cent of the work done here is manual and practical. Almost every school of any given type maintains a night school where adults come to learn better techniques of labor, farming, and handicrafts. In addition there are cultural centers where music, regional dancing, and art are experienced.

Perhaps one of the most revolutionary of the Mexican educational types is the Cultural Missions which travel from place to place,

generally staying eight weeks at a time, raising the level of the school teachers in service as well as making specific contributions to the people of the locality. The primary purpose of the Cultural Mission is to better the primary-school teacher, culturally and professionally, including academic training and guidance in educational techniques. He is actually taught to read and write better, and is given further training in arithmetic, geography, and other subjects. The technical training of the *maestro* is improved; he is taught the elements of scientific agriculture, care and feeding of animals, farm industries and mechanics. Naturally this training, given in such a short time, will be of the most elementary type. However, the missionaries believe that the mere teaching of the value of cultivation, irrigation, and rotation of crops will be a cultural advance of hundreds of years from the theory of setting up rain gods, having seed blessed, and holding festivals for good crops while the seed is planted in poorly plowed ground and never cultivated, weeded, or irrigated. The Mission also proposes to give the instructors a proletarian consciousness and a feeling of personal responsibility in the creation of a new order. They are to be fired like the ancient crusaders with a zeal to build a new world, but unlike the crusaders they are to call upon reason and brotherhood instead of blind emotion, fanaticism, and bloodshed.

Another front on which the government is advancing in its program of building toward a socialist society is in the field of Indian education. For four centuries the Indian in Mexico has remained unconquered and unassimilated. True, he has been defeated and harried and dispossessed and enslaved, but he has never been conquered. This does not mean that the Mexican Indian is a fierce, untractable creature. On the contrary, he is usually a sensitive, artistic individual, finely attuned to nature. He has been bestialized, in many cases, by contact with a civilization that was morally and intellectually inferior to his own.

Today the Indian remains to be reckoned with. He is not a savage,

waiting to ambush travelers and scalp his enemies. He has retired as far into nature and as far into himself as possible. His resistance is passive; he is a brake on the vehicle of progress. Mexico's problem is to incorporate the Indian into the life of the country, to make him an individual, to give him back the reason that has been denied him.

Mexico uses the rural school and the Indian Center to help the Indian realize his full possibilities. The Indian Center is not a school in the traditional or classical understanding of the term. It might better be called a cultural community, for the purpose is almost entirely one of social and cultural propaganda and training. It does not compete with the *escuela rural* which is being established in increasing numbers in Indian communities. The Center takes students of an older age and attempts to move them forward at an accelerated pace of development. The aim of the Center is to "streamline" evolution. Boys between the ages of fourteen and twenty and girls between the ages of twelve and eighteen are enrolled in the Center. The first step in the education of Indian youth is to teach them Spanish. Afterward the students are taught to build their own houses, not as an academic exercise but for the purpose of having a home. The students merely live and go their daily round of working, singing, dancing, playing games, and getting on with comrades. The only difference between the life in the *internado* and in an advanced community is the fact that the students are guided rapidly and naturally into more advanced techniques. There is just enough instruction and group work to remove the learning from the field of trial and error. In reality the Center is almost purely a school of work. Students are not the graduates of the rural schools but those who have been missed by the schools.

The Department of Indigenous Education makes the point constantly that the centers are not an end in themselves, they are not a permanent form of education, they are rather a means to bridge the gap between pre-Conquest cultures and twentieth-century prob-

lems. The aim is the same as that in every department of the present Mexican government—to keep the best of the Indian characteristics and habits and to add the most modern techniques of production. Machinery is brought to the centers and its use is taught to the Indians, but the thought always uppermost in the minds of the teachers and often expressed by them is that the machine is for the use of man. The Indians are taught the usual lessons of modern socialization: the land is theirs, they must take it, keep it, and work it in the most efficient manner possible. They must not make production a god and themselves slaves to efficiency; on the other hand, they must release themselves from the slavery to the *maíz*. They must not work from daylight until dark with primitive tools to raise a small crop of low-grade corn so their wives can spend all the day and half the night grinding the corn meal in a primitive mill. They are taught to raise diversified crops by using horses or mules, a steel plow, and other modern tools by forming agricultural credit coöperatives and borrowing the money from the government. They are taught to form coöperatives that unite with national groups for the marketing of the crops advantageously. These techniques are not taught in lectures or speeches; the young men and women actually do all these things under the direction of their teachers, and the organizations they form are not junior groups or school groups—they are actually functioning coöperatives.

The students usually stay two or three years in the *centro*. When they leave they may do one of two things: they can return to their own families which may be some distance away and put into practice the lessons learned; or the student may settle down as a part of the Indian Center, and build his house with the help of his friends in the group and with the active help of the faculty. Here he may marry and become a part of a community that knows how to work together, play together, and in general live together in an intelligent fashion. When the time comes that the community is a large, well-knit group, living the principles of scientific socialism, the faculty

of the *internado* will quietly move out so as to disturb no part of the social machinery, and start a new center in a location that has not felt the impact of the new education.

REVOLUTIONARY ART AS A TOOL FOR TEACHING SOCIALISM

The poetry of Shelley has been called Godwin's *Political Justice* set to meter; so the painting of the proletarian artists of Mexico—José Clemente Orozco, Diego Rivera, Alfaro Siqueiros, Carlos Mérida, Fermín Revueltas, Máximo Pacheco, and dozens of others—may be called Mexican socialism pictorialized. Their art is international, yet it is supremely American; that is to say, it is Mexican. The ideology, the symbols, the techniques have been found that are part of the country and yet they curiously fit into the Marxian cosmos. The Mexican has his centuries-old proverb from Netzahualcoyotl, Aztec poet king, "The land belongs to him who works it with his hands." The spontaneous uprisings in Mexico from the time of the Conquest were practically always over the same thing—land. Zapata has become the artistic apotheosis of the national urge for *tierra y libertad*—land and liberty. The wistful peasant that one encounters in so much of Mexican art, both student and professional, symbolizes the desire of the *campesino* to own a little corner of the fatherland.

The armed farmer is another stylized figure that is portrayed often. The importance of education in the social order is stressed repeatedly in the murals of the monumental artists as well as in the other forms of the plastic arts. The beauty of Mexico and the dignity of her people are presented in an effort to teach self-respect and love of country. Labor in all its forms is shown as a thing of beauty. Rivera particularly has one leitmotiv—that is the use of modern machinery in all his landscapes. Thus he hopes to make the country conscious of the need for modern techniques. There is none of the sentimentality of the bourgeois artists who portray the old, the outmoded, and the purely picturesque.

Music and dancing play their part in making socialists of the Mexicans, as does art. Regional songs and dances from all parts of the country are collected and collated by the department of education. They are then published and sent to the schools where they are taught to the students and adults. Music and dancing are looked to as morale builders, as expressions of the emotional surge that is in the individual. Perhaps the real forte of music is to dignify everything that is truly Mexican. It aims to undo the work of European music in Mexico which has tended to glorify the culture of Europe and to deprecate that of indigenous Mexico. In addition it tends to have a moralizing influence; it gets the folk away from the *cantinas* and *pulquerías*, traditional centers of debasing escapism, and gives them new cultural and aesthetic centers.

From this brief review it will be seen that Mexico has dedicated every activity for the formation of public opinion to the work of "redeeming the proletariat" through making them conscious of the social program of the nation. Education, art, music, and dancing are working to make the Indian and peasant intelligent, self-respecting citizens who will work toward a new society, a society that glorifies useful work but that does not make a fetish of that work. Thus education in Mexico is a constant causation in which it hopes to produce better individuals who will produce a better society. This society will in turn produce better individuals until gradually the socialist state will be reached.

SUMMARY OF CORRESPONDENCE REGARDING "THE CHURCH AND SOCIAL WORK"

In the February 1939 issue of this JOURNAL, the following statement appeared in an article entitled "Sociology and Social Work" by Miss Rhea K. Boardman:

The early Christian church was concerned with a problem which we hear discussed today. The church stated that relief should be separated from the state and that the church should be the agency to which the needy and afflicted should apply for succor. With all due respect to the early church, it must be said that its part in the program was to some extent a selfish one. The church realized that it would be able to get more converts if it would help people who were sick and poor.

Dr. John Coogan, Professor of Sociology, Detroit University, addressed the following letter to Miss Boardman:

In your thought-provoking article you say . . . (quoting above paragraph). I have a very particular interest in this matter; and since you cite no evidence for this statement, I should be exceptionally grateful for such evidence.

Miss Boardman replied as follows:

I am glad that you are interested in my article and can direct you to two sources that may help in substantiating the points that you bring out. In Chapter 13 of Stuart Queen's book, *Social Work in the Light of History*, and Chapter 33 in *Outlines of Sociology* by John Lewis Gillan and Frank W. Blackman, you will find the discussion of the church and its place in the beginning of social case work.

In the graduate schools of social work which I have attended, the relationship of the church and social case work was discussed so many times that I did not feel that the statements I made in my article would be new or startling. It was not my intention to disparage church work, but simply to bring out the fact that the church, in some instances, considered the

¹ The entire correspondence from which the excerpts in the following pages are quoted was submitted to Professor Paul H. Furfey, of the Catholic University of America, who is a member of the Editorial Council of THE JOURNAL, to Miss Boardman, and to Professor Coogan.

work with the poor and afflicted to be more closely allied to their program than that of other community agencies.

If you should care to discuss this with me further, I should be glad to hear from you.

To this letter Professor Coogan replied in part:

I hope you may now be able to direct me to a more satisfactory documentation of your disparaging reference to the "early Christian church" than you furnished in your kind letter of March 29.

What I wish is historic justification of your statement that the early Christian church "stated that relief (of the needy and afflicted) should be separated from the State." Also that the early church's "part in the program was to some extent a selfish one." I am repeating my request because in your letter you content yourself with a general reference to two chapters of sociological texts which you think "may help in substantiating the points that you bring out." In view of the fact that you say this as a mere surmise, I do not feel that a sincere inquirer should be left to spend more time than I have already spent consulting various editions in vain search of the proof in question; searching, you will recall, to prove an anti-Christian remark which—being yours—you had been asked to document.

I quite agree with you that such slurs upon the early Christian church are neither new nor startling. It has become quite common in certain academic circles for dishonorable motivation to be attributed to that Church for social works which in themselves force admiration. One may thus be forced to say, with Dr. S. P. Breckinridge, of Chicago University, that "Nowhere in antiquity is there evidence of the establishment of large-scale institutions for the sick and the destitute, a development which characterized the Christian church from its inception." But it still remains possible to impute to the pioneers of those social institutions a motivation which will gratify the anti-Christian.

Especially in view of your kindly invitation to a discussion of this matter, I repeat my request for your documentation.

The concluding letter of Miss Boardman is quoted below:

Just a note to acknowledge your letter of April 1st.

I am sorry that we find ourselves in such disagreement. I am afraid that it will not be profitable to pursue our discussions further. However, since it is obvious that our differences of opinion are based, not so much upon

facts, as on the interpretation of those facts, I thank you again for the letters you have written me.

In a letter addressed to Dean E. George Payne, editor-in-chief of *THE JOURNAL*, Professor Coogan reviewed the correspondence with Miss Boardman and stated:

I am sure, Dr. Payne, that you will agree that an author of an offensive statement of supposed fact, in an educational magazine appealing for general support, may reasonably be expected to prove her statement to certitude, not merely express the hope that by following her reading directions the dissatisfied subscriber may perhaps be able to draw up an indictment to substantiate her charge. Professor Boardman has closed her correspondence with the remark that "it is obvious that our differences of opinion are based, not so much upon facts, as on the interpretation of those facts." The fact remains, however, that she has left me without even a shadow of substantiation of her factual charge that the early Christian church "stated that relief (of the needy and afflicted) should be separated from the State." Also that the early church's "part in the program was to some extent a selfish one."

Dean Payne stated the editorial position of *THE JOURNAL* in his reply:

I wonder if the best method of handling it would not be for you to write whatever statement you might wish, within limits, in answer to Dr. Boardman. Our columns are open to the sociologists in the country. Actually the editor does not take responsibility for the point of view of an author. However, we do lean backwards in the attempt to correct any mistakes or misstatements.

Professor Coogan accepted Dean Payne's invitation and submitted the following statement:

My objections to Dr. Boardman's charges resolve themselves into a matter of fact and a matter of social utility. As to the fact, a somewhat more than ordinary familiarity with early Christian history leaves me surprised at the charge that any state was then so devoted to care for the needy and the afflicted that even a selfish church would urge a discontinuance in the interest of her own monopoly control. My own impression of

the fact of such relief is that of Dr. S. P. Breckinridge. (Quotation same as cited above.) If the zealous new church is known to have so soon found the indifferent old state an embarrassing rival in the work of social relief, that fact should be provable from historical documents.

Also, if the church had made that unproved demand for a monopoly of social relief work, "thinking to gain more converts if it could help people who were sick and poor," would this zeal for converts be properly called "selfish"? Is the seeking of influence with others, to be used for the benefit of those others, properly called "selfish"? Is a mother's backbreaking labor for her child "selfish" because after all it *is* her child and she may hope some day for a return of love? In any case, what constructive purpose, may I ask, is served by this slurring of Christianity? What spirit has ever meant so much for social reform as the Christian spirit? Where have we been taught so much of human kindliness, of world brotherhood, of respect for the weak too helpless to demand it? Whence even have we this thing we call democracy, except from Christianity of which the then President Hadley of Yale University could say, "Not only was the Church in the Middle Ages the most democratic institution in Europe, but the ideals of the Church had taught men to exercise that sort of liberty which makes democracy possible." And Walter Lippmann reminds us, "The liberties we talk about defending today were established by men who took their conception of man from the great central religious tradition of Western civilization, and the liberties we inherit can almost certainly not survive the abandonment of that tradition." If, then, democracy is so indebted to Christianity for its origin, is it unreasonable to ask whether those educators who so easily slur Christianity are working for a social order contemptuous too of democracy?

You will not expect me, in stating my reaction to the slurs of Dr. Boardman's statements, to run through the history of the early Christian church to prove positively that she was not guilty of the unsubstantiated charges in question. I shall content myself with a commentary on the author's own explanation of how the offensive remarks came to be made. "In the graduate schools of social work (she tells us) which I have attended, the relationship of the church and social case work was discussed so many times that I did not feel that the statements I made in my article would be new or startling." I hope it will not seem unkind if I here lament such uncritical reliance on the unproved right of the mass of American professors to speak as authorities on Christian history and institutions. Dr. Alexis Carrell reinforces the warning of the danger of such horizontal

dogmatizing after perpendicular specialization, when he remarks, "The more eminent the specialist, the more dangerous he is. Scientists who have strikingly distinguished themselves by great discoveries or useful inventions often come to believe that their knowledge of one subject extends to all others."

In her uncritical acceptance of her former mentors' casual strictures upon Christianity, Dr. Boardman was, I believe, made the victim of the time-spirit. This time-spirit for some strange reason is once again convinced that by science Christianity has been pronounced false, even though so competent a scientist as Dr. Alexis Carrell can call Christian civilization the very "mother of modern science"; and Sir James Jeans can suggest that "science should leave off making pronouncements: the river of knowledge has too often turned back upon itself."

RESEARCH PROJECTS AND METHODS IN EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

In order that this section of THE JOURNAL may be of the greatest possible service, its readers are urged to send at once to the editor of this department titles—and where possible descriptions—of current research projects now in process in educational sociology and also those projects in kindred fields of interest to educational sociology.

RESEARCH ON THE PSYCHOLOGY OF PEACE AND WAR

The Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues, at its annual meeting in September 1937, set up a committee on the psychology of peace and war. It was proposed that the committee conduct and encourage research on relevant problems, with the expectation of publishing the second yearbook of the Society in the Spring of 1940.¹ The members of the committee were Drs. J. F. Brown, University of Kansas; Ralph Gundlach, University of Washington; Ralph White, University of Iowa; and Ross Stagner, University of Akron, chairman.

The committee has concentrated on the study of psychological aspects of national wars, as the type most prevalent and most probable for some time to come. It has circularized several hundred prominent persons in the fields of history, economics, political science, sociology, and international law with a questionnaire on war prevention. The suggestions which were heavily favored by these experts were as follows: reduction of tariff barriers; opening up raw materials to all nations equitably; developing tolerance for foreign ideas; setting international above national values in the schools; nationalizing the munitions industry; teaching the needlessness of past wars, etc. They rejected armaments as a way to peace; opposed the Ludlow Amendment and the Oxford Oath. There was no clear majority in favor of either "collective security" or "isolation" as these terms have been used recently.

This study has been paralleled with a survey of several thousand average citizens. The purpose of this work is to find which elements in the population seem to have the most nearly correct orientation on the prevention of war, and try to determine how it happens that they do. This study is not complete.

From an entirely different angle the committee has worked to obtain the collaboration of a number of psychoanalysts. They are collecting ob-

¹This statement is provided through the courtesy of Dr. Ross Stagner, Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues, University of Akron, Akron, Ohio.

servations upon patients undergoing analysis to try to ascertain the deeper motives which give power to such emotional attachments as patriotism. Is it true that persons having feelings of inferiority and weakness are likely to endorse the idea of a strong army and navy as a sort of compensatory reaction? It is hoped that this study will throw light on the problem.

In the field of child psychology, observations are being made on groups of boys who play together under circumstances which make possible conflicts of interest, shortage of raw materials, etc. Several "wars" have occurred. Data are being gathered as to the kind of group organization most likely to precipitate aggression, internal hostility and its projection upon the outgroup, etc.

A number of volunteers in the Spanish civil war are to be interviewed in an attempt to determine the kind of personality likely to accept participation in war as a tolerable form of activity.

Studies of attitude toward war, toward national policies, toward foreigners, etc., among college students and adults have also been conducted. The significance of these is hard to state until we get more analytic data on the dynamics of such attitudes. The role of the schools, the R.O.T.C., newspaper propaganda, etc., will be estimated in relation to these various attitudes when we feel that we understand how they are formed and what significance they have.

Another phase of the work of the committee has been in the study of the memoirs of diplomats and military figures. This work is made difficult by the fact that memoirs rarely tell the "truth, the whole truth, and nothing but." It is expected, however, to extend any hypotheses formed from the analytic study of everyday persons and attempt to apply them to an explanation of diplomatic behavior. It is interesting to note that a British Psychological Research Committee has already advocated that every public official ought to be required to submit to a thoroughgoing psychoanalysis before being allowed to serve.

The committee has been handicapped by working in a field which has rarely been approached from the psychological angle, and also by lack of funds to finance the ambitious research programs needed to make really significant progress. Its members believe, nevertheless, that some important new material will be made available as a result of their investigations. Especially, they hope to be able to chart the psychological aspects of this problem sufficiently well that future research by individuals and groups will be facilitated and encouraged.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Reconquest of Mexico, by NATHANIEL AND SYLVIA WEYL. London, New York, and Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1939, 384 pages, \$3.00.

The joint authors have produced in this biography of President Lázaro Cárdenas one of the most valuable and informative books on the Mexican contemporary scene since the appearance of Gruening's *Mexico and Its Heritage* in 1928.

Skillfully interweaving the story of the life of Mexico's leading statesman with an account of his country's past period of upheaval, civil war, and reconstruction, the Weyls quickly lead up to the winning of the presidency by Cárdenas. The writers then devote, with critical though sympathetic understanding, the major portion of the book to what will be for some time the definitive analysis of the much-discussed administration of Cárdenas, touching not only upon his official acts but also upon the conflict of church and state, the politics and economics of oil expropriation, and the sociological implications of the new agrarian collectives, the new power of organized labor, the health and "socialist" education program, and Mexico's road to socialism.

We Who Built America, by CARL WITTKE. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1939, 528 pages.

No nation is comparable to the United States in the character of its population since every country of the world has contributed its people to the total of our citizenship and in some way has influenced our composite culture. While the original culture of the country was Anglo-Saxon and its vitality has persisted as the background of the present culture, the national personality is determined by the numerous cultural strains that have gradually insinuated themselves into the America of today. The national life is unique because of the variety of cultural strains that make up the whole.

Moreover, the acculturation has not taken place without its tragedies because of the resistance to the immigrant groups and the social heritages they brought with them from long historical backgrounds, radically different from the original Anglo-Saxon groups that gave direction to the national development. While the original inhabitants regarded the coun-

try as "The Land of the Oppressed," and welcomed the newcomers with "open arms," they at the same time resented the cultural differences and sought to assimilate the immigrant groups into the social life with as little trace of the original personality traits as possible. They regarded the different traditions as highly undesirable. They, therefore, expected the immigrant groups to break completely with their own traditions. Since such a break was impossible, the social adjustment became acute and often tragic.

Recently, however, our students of the problems of immigrant adjustment and more significantly our leaders of social thought have seen the futility of attempting to eradicate the cultural traditions of the immigrant groups. They have furthermore discovered that our national character and greatness depend upon the understanding, appreciation, and preservation of the numerous cultures brought to our shores. It is, therefore, this conception that gives significance to the book under review. The author has presented, and more adequately than has been presented before, the significance of the various immigrant peoples in building twentieth-century America. No one can read this book without a deeper understanding and appreciation of immigrant contributions and no one interested in the future of our democracy should fail to read the book.

William Penn as Social Philosopher, by EDWARD CORBYN OBERT BEATTY. New York: Columbia University Press, 1939, xiii + 338 pages.

In this well-documented volume the author presents the ideas and ideals which seem to have directed or motivated William Penn in his career as a "fearless advocate of religious toleration," as an exponent of universal peace, as a political idealist, as an empire builder, and as a great humanitarian. The chapters conform closely to the three points of view selected by the author for handling Penn's social philosophy; viz., that of the political theorist and statesman (II to VI), that of the economic man (VII to IX), and finally as a social idealist and humanitarian (X to XII). The author points out many inconsistencies within the thought structure itself and particularly in its relation to Penn's actions. He characterizes Penn as a pragmatist saying "his ideology often rationalized his desires." The following chapters may well be singled out for special interest: "Builder of a New Utopia," "Cosmopolitan Pacifist," "Defender of Property and Wealth," and "Friend of the Indians."

Penn's views on education mark him as "far in advance of his time." The author evidences throughout a familiarity with the voluminous literature on Penn and a power of selectivity and a marshaling of evidence which commend his conclusions to the reader. These are set forth at the close of each chapter and in a final epilogue.

Labor and Democracy, by WILLIAM GREEN. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1939, 194 pages, \$2.50.

To William Green, the leader of the American Federation of Labor, the American labor movement, with all its shortcomings and imperfections, is the keystone of democracy in our national life. This general theme, embroidered with variations, constitutes the rather slim volume that serves as a sort of *apologia* for both Mr. Green and the American Federation. The story of the development of collective bargaining as a means for the solution of problems arising out of the employer-employee relationship is told and with it is entwined the story of the career of Mr. Green from those early days when he first began to occupy office in the United Mine Workers' Union. Mr. Green devotes much space to the problems of social security and to the place of government in labor relations. The book is a valuable contribution in that it is the statement of one of the directing forces in the world of labor.

World Communism, by F. BORKENAU. New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1939, 442 pages, \$3.75.

This study attempts an unbiased and objective approach to the evolution and the activity of the Communist International through historical and sociological analysis. The Communist International, being an important political force, arouses violent political passions, both among its adherents and its adversaries. And a history of the Comintern is the more necessary today because the communists themselves, owing to the rapid and violent changes of their policies, do not like to recall, during one phase, what they have thought and done in earlier phases. Communism is not one of those stable forces which are today what they were decades ago. It has repeatedly changed its whole policy, all its leading staffs, has risen high and fallen deep; and these evolutions are not yet at an end. These in short are the theses of the author of this somewhat undocumented volume which seeks to trace the activities of communism throughout the world. The author was himself a member of the German Communist

Party from 1921 to 1929. His interpretations of the facts of his study are open to question and one wonders how unbiased and impartial a man who has worked in the Communist International and broken with it can be. The book itself is inclined to be rather ponderous reading.

Business Education—Basic Principles and Trends, by HERBERT A. TONNE. New York: The Gregg Publishing Company, 1939, 344 pages, \$2.00.

This is a sound, sane, and comprehensive study of some of the fundamental aspects of business education in modern America. Dr. Tonne very carefully indicates the aims and objectives of both vocational business education and nontechnical business education. Recent trends in the broad field of business education are evaluated and the author succinctly points the way to progress in this important field. The chapter "Guidance in Business Education" is especially fine for it is characterized by a realism that is too seldom found in discussions on guidance. The volume is adequately suited as a text for those in the business-education curricula of teacher-training institutions.

Black Workers and the New Unions, by HORACE R. CAYTON and GEORGE S. MITCHELL. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1938, 473 pages, \$4.00.

This is the third in a series of studies projected in 1933 by a special Committee on Negroes in the Economic Reconstruction. This study is completed at a time when class interests and class solidarity as well as class conflict have immeasurably broken down racial lines of demarcation. The authors have included not only employer-labor relationships of both white and Negro labor, but also the interrelationship of white and Negro workers in the same industries. The three chosen as representative types are the iron and steel and the packing industries and the railroad car shops.

It is a factual study, yet the data are interpreted in terms of basic economic and social meanings. The authors are convinced that effective readjustment is dependent upon the extent of unionization of Negro labor and present three recommendations: to increase and strengthen favorable union sentiment in the Negro community; to break down the racial prejudice of white workers and union officials; and to provide resources for the unionization of Negro workers in the Negro community.